285 basket made of tules was called a´nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama´l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa´p·t) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai´'iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po´m·k) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pom·k) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o´sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha´lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu´was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

[482] The tumpline (tsono´lhi) and carrying net (tsuno´lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo´to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao´); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a´ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča´'aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po´dano).

The tumpline she called šu´ñl·k, the soaproot brush ṭoho´ṭ.

Blanketmaking

● 286 The Tachi made blankets (woi´yon, the word used for mats) of strips of muduen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers."[47] [Text continues D W/2, 21a]

[47] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Butunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y [354] of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[139] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[139] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states [834] that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven
291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [304] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi´koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´´ič (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish in-
286 fluence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki´´ič) of thick hide, deer
294 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very hot weather or when making a long journey.
281 Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type
281 of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[431] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [71] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin
[202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.---Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the
281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[681] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut,
291 dried, and pounded as for string, was used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki ´n:p) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki ´ñuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when
[482] carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau ´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči ´n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

28| shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

28| 286 These strips were tied together into about twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four
286 inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ṭ'ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su''iu ṭ'ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čituk string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of
[516] the smaller round tules (šu'yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[190] A pair of tules was

[190] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.G. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čitːk) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čitːk, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (waˊdak) and tumpline
283 (šu ñdːč, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh [284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches; then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a]

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[P. 84] Wukchumni
ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
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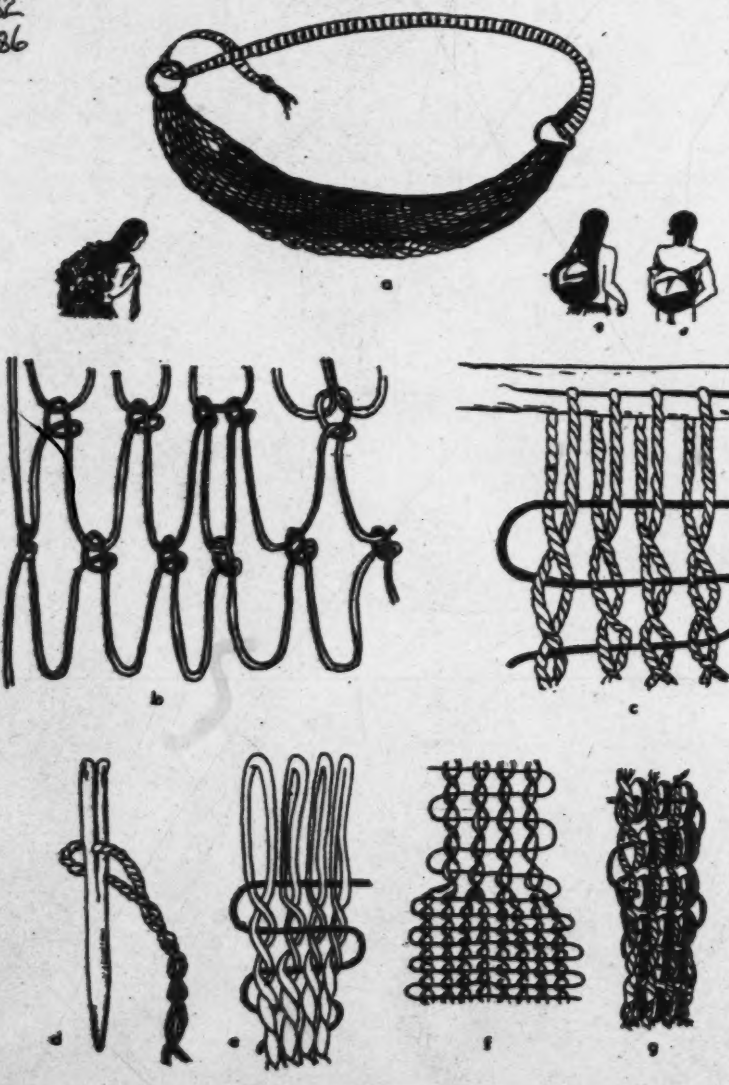

Fig. 13. Wukchumni netting and weaving techniques. a, carrying net and tumpline. b, enlargement of simple netting knot. c, enlargement of tumpline weaving. d, weaving needle. e, tumpline with warps and wefts expanded. f, change from 4 to 8 double-twisted warps. g, belt with shell discs inserted on weft between warps. Vignettes: manner of using tumpline.

286 hitches; then the netting stitch began. This was a simple knot and the same throughout, merely being reversed when work changed from right to left progression and vice versa. There was no rule which way the worker should start. Some workers endeavored to keep the length of twine with which they were working coiled in the right hand, others allowed it to dangle. Knots were made when a new cord joined on.

The loops at start and finish were about 4 inches deep, that is, the length of twine between knottings was some 8 inches. As work progressed toward the center of the net, the loops narrowed to 3 inches or 1-1/2 inches doubled, thus producing finer netting where most needed. As each knot was drawn taut the fingers of the left hand were spread along the cord of the loop next being formed, the adjustment of the fingers determining the amount of cord in the loop. No netting gauge was used. Each knot was made into (i.e., around) the cord of the loop above it save when widening and narrowing the width of the net was desired. Widening called for additional loops made into the same host loop. Narrowing was done by pulling two host loops together into one knot. When the last row of loops was reached they were strung on a coil of cordage similar to that at the start. The coil passed through the looped end of the tumpline.

There were 18 rows of loops in the net used for demonstration. It measured about 3 feet in length and 5 in breadth when pulled taut in one direction or the other. Spread equally in both directions when in use, it formed a capacious and adaptable hammock-like container.

Tumplines, which appear to be woven or even twined since the longitudinal strands are twisted in pairs, were made by what is more nearly a sewing process. (The same process was used in making rabbitskin blankets, according to two informants; see above.) Four cords, about 12 to 15 feet long, were twisted individually and doubled on themselves, forming loosely twisted two-strand cords about 6 feet long. The closed ends which formed a loop were inserted in the cleft of a split stick. They were pushed close together and, as they were practically identical and had been twisted at the same tension, the turns in each of the double cords were in line with their neighbors (see fig. 13, c-f). We will call these the "warp" cords. The loops of the warp cords were forced open with the forefinger of the left hand to a point about 4 inches below the binding stick, and here a cord ("weft") attached to a split-stick needle (awo'ka) was drawn through to its end. From this point on the weft cord was drawn back and forth, progressing through each series of adjacent turns in the four warp cords (see fig. 13, c, e). When the weft was drawn tight, it disappeared from view save at the sides of the band which

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi´·ɨ̆, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pik·t) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking
[121] was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

764 767 All Wukchumni informants stated that it was the women tonoč·m who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai'·s, who was cremated [766] by his two wives, Mawo·kono, a Wukchumni, and Paweč·ku·do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonoč·m were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 486] The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonoč·m by means of tumpline and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonoč·m said, "I have carried you, čoinamniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ţ·pni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonoč·m and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the 767 mourners washed the tonoč·m and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonoč·m were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonoč·m, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 147 a] Choiwinmi

Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8] Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9] Ibid., 29, 12.

[10] Ibid., 29-31, 37.

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end;
[284 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog.
[141] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

[P. 189 9] Chuckchansi

283 Cordage and nets.---Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

● 286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 286 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.---Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were [136] available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.---The digging stick (s'opu[1]) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukchumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NSZ9 Yokuts NS29

tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.)

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose.

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen.

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, files; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chok, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves.

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed.

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish.

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail.

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets.

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed.

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated.